Del **EXECUTIVE SECRETARIAT** Routing Slip TO: **ACTION** INFO DATE INITIAL 2 MAR 1982 T) DCI DDCI 3 EXDIR 4 D/ICS 5 DDI 6 DDA DDO DDS&T Chm/NIC 10 GC 11 12 Compt D/EE0 D/Pers D/OEA C/PAD/OEA 17 SA/IA AO/DCI C/IPD/OIS NIUJUSSR 21 22 SUSPENSE Remarks:

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NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20006

CONFIDENTIAL WITH SECRET ATTACHMENT

February 25, 1982

MEMORANDUM FOR:

Ms. Nancy Bearg Dyke

Mr. William Schneider Assistant to the Vice President Associate Director for National Security for National Security Affairs and International Affairs Office of Management and Budget

Mr. L. Paul Bremer III

Executive Secretary Department of State

Executive Secretary Central Intelligence Agency

Mr. David Pickford Executive Secretary

Department of the Treasury

Ms. Jacqueline Tillman Executive Assistant to the United States
Representative to the United Nations

Lieutenant Colonel Robert P. Mechan Assistant for Interagency Matters Mr. Dennis Whitfield Office of the Secretary of Defense Executive Assistant to the United States

Trade Representative

Mr. F. Henry Babicht Special Assistant to the Colonel Charles P. Stebbins Attorney General Executive Assistant to the

Colonel Charles P. Stebbins Chairman, Joint Chiefs of Staff,

Ms. Jean Jones Director, Executive Secretariat Department of Commerce

SUBJECT: High-Level Mission to Europe on Polish/Soviet Sanctions (C)

Attached is a background paper for tomorrow's NSC meeting on subject topic. The meeting is scheduled for 1:00 p.m. in the Cabinet Room. (C)

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Michael O. Wheeler \_\_\_\_ Staff Secretary

Attachment

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# Terms of Reference for Righ-Level USG Mission to Europe on Soviet Sanctions

## Rationale for Mission

- -- An historic opportunity exists to substantially weaken the Soviet Union by taking advantage of its economic and financial situation through reducing the flow of resources from West to East.
- one Our allies must be given new incentives to participate in a useful program before the USG is forced to take further unliateral measures with possible negative impact on the alliance.
- Measures to curtail Soviet access to hard currency are essential for the Administration's program for closing the gap between U.S. and Soviet military investments and for creating conditions conducive to greater security and genuine arms control. U.S. public sentiment in support of additional sanctions is quite strong and may be manifested by private sanctions.

### Assumptions

- The Siberian pipeline can perhaps be delayed beyond normal construction delays and made more costly to complete, but it cannot be stopped at this point by unilateral U.S. actions, without incurring intolerable diplomatic costs. By working with the Dutch and Norwegians and through an alternative energy program, we can lessen the growth of European energy dependence on the Soviet Union.
  - -- It is in our long-term interest and that of our allies to get them to reduce or cut off new official credits and quarantees to the USSR and to restrain the flow of financial resources to the USSR.

# **Objectives**

- -- To begin negotiations to get the allies to cut off or severely limit and make more expensive medium- and long-term official and officially-guaranteed credits to the Soviet Union.
  - -- To reduce Soviet exports of non-essentials to the West.
  - -- To limit European dependence on Soviet energy.
- -- /To make clear that we define their offers not to undercut our sanctions to include subsidiaries and licensees of our companies in Europe./

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#### Means

-- By proposing an agreement that additional medium- or long-term official or officially-guaranteed credits to the Soviet Union will be restricted and the cost increased, as well as considering measures to counteract the impact on the financial markets were there to be a partial or bloc-wide default, to be negotiated at a conference in Washington.

- By convincing our allies to participate with us in a program of raising tariffs, and/or imposing quotas on non-essential Soviet exports, or by other means, to restrict allied imports of these items.
- By stressing the importance of a package of European energy alternatives.
- By obtaining European agreement not to interfere with the retroactive and extraterritorial extension of U.S. export controls to cover equipment manufactured by foreign subsidiaries of U.S. companies and by foreign licensess of U.S. companies operating under technology transferred prior to December 30, 1981.7

## Make-up and Timing of Mission

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The mission will be led by Under Secretary of State James
Buckley and will include Under Secretary of Defense Fred Ikle,
Under Secretary of Commerce Lionel Olmer, Assistant Secretary
of the Treasury Marc Leland, Director of Policy Planning of
the National Security Council staff Norman Bailey and a limited
number of sides.

At this time, it is proposed that the mission leave in approximately a week to ten days after terms of reference have been approved by the NSC and visit Rome, Bonn, Paris and London, in that order. The Embassy in Tokyo will be kept fully informed and the Japanese government asked to participate fully in all measures agreed upon.

# <u>Definition of Success</u>

Success of the mission is defined as follows:

- Agreement on a Washington conference on credit limitation and default consultation to meet before the end of March.
- -- Agreement not to interfere with extension of our export controls over foreign subsidiaries and licensees of U.S. companies. 7
- Agreement by allies to raise their tariffs or establish quota restrictions on Soviet non-essential exports.

NOTE:

The State Department recommends that the bracketed tics under Objectives. Means and Definition of Success be deleted.

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